

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 229191 TOSEC 270196

21

ORIGIN PA-02

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SSO-00 CCO-00 /018 R

DRAFTED BY PA:WDBLAIR,JR:GM

APPROVED BY PA:WDBLAIR,JR.

S/S: L. MACFARLANE

----- 003865

O 160231Z SEP 76 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 229191 TOSEC 270196

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, US, PINT

SUBJECT: VERBATIM TEXT: PRINCIPAL FINDINGS FROM
PITTSBURGH "TOWN MEETING" ON FOREIGN POLICY

1. MEMORANDUM TO SECRETARY, DATED MARCH 11, 1976, FROM M-LAWRENCE S. EAGLEBURGER, S/P-WINSTON LORD, IO-SAMUEL W. LEWIS, PM-GEORGE S. VEST.
2. BEGIN TEXT: DURING YOUR NOVEMBER VISIT TO PITTSBURGH YOU ANNOUNCED THAT IT WOULD BE THE LOCALE FOR THE FIRST OF FIVE "TOWN MEETINGS" AT WHICH DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS WOULD LISTEN TO THE PUBLIC'S VIEWS ON FOUR FUNDAMENTAL CONCERNS OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY: (1) U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS; (2) U.S. RELATIONS WITH THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES; (3) THE VALUES THAT SHOULD GOVERN OUR FOREIGN POLICY; AND (4) THE OBJECTIVES TOWARD WHICH OUR FOREIGN POLICY SHOULD BE DIRECTED.
3. WE SPENT FEBRUARY 18 LISTENING TO THE VIEWS OF A CROSS-SECTION OF PITTSBURGERS. THIS MEMORANDUM SUMMARIZES WHAT WE HEARD.
4. SIMILAR MEETINGS WILL BE HELD IN PORTLAND, SAN FRANCISCO, MILWAUKEE, AND MINNEAPOLIS DURING APRIL.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 229191 TOSEC 270196

BASIC IMPRESSIONS

5. THE MOST STRIKING--INDEED, DISTURBING--GENERAL IMPRESSION WITH WHICH WE RETURN TO WASHINGTON IS THAT PITTSBURGERS DO NOT UNDERSTAND MANY OF THE BEDROCK PRE-

(1) DEEP-SEATED SUSPICION THAT DETENTE IS WORKING MORE IN THE SOVIET UNION'S INTEREST THAN IN OURS IS COUPLED WITH RECOGNITION THAT THE NEED TO AVOID NUCLEAR WAR REQUIRES US TO DEAL WITH THE SOVIET UNION IN THE INTEREST OF MAINTAINING PEACE; (2) INTENSE DOUBT THAT OUR FOREIGN AID REACHES THOSE WHO NEED IT MOST IS COUPLED WITH ACCEPTANCE OF THE NECESSITY TO BOLSTER THE ECONOMIES OF THE UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES; (3) REJECTION OF ISOLATIONISM IS COUPLED WITH A FEELING THAT AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IS NOT SUFFICIENTLY CONCERNED WITH PROTECTING THE ECONOMIC INTERESTS OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC; (4) SKEPTICISM THAT OUR GOVERNMENT IS CONCERNED WITH HEEDING AND SERVING THE AMERICAN PUBLIC IS COUPLED WITH YEARNING TO SEE THE UNITED STATES PLAY A SIGNIFICANT AND BENEVOLENT ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS.

8. IF WE FOUND CONSIDERABLE SKEPTICISM AND INCOMPREHENSION, THE DOUBTS WERE EXPRESSED WITH CIVILITY; AND THE VERY FACT OF OUR PRESENCE, LISTENING TO WHAT WAS SAID AND REFRAINING UNCLASSIFIED

FROM ARGUMENT, EVOKED A FAIR AMOUNT OF PLEASED SURPRISE AND APPRECIATION. -

10. SEVERAL VIEWS REGARDING U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS WERE

GENERALLY HELD BY THOSE PARTICIPATING IN THE WORKSHOP DISCUSSION AND AMONG THOSE WHO WERE POLLED. THESE WIDELY SHARED VIEWS WERE: THE SOVIET UNION IS EXPANSIONIST AND UNTRUSTWORTHY. NEVERTHELESS, IN THE INTEREST OF MAINTAINING PEACE AND AVOIDING NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST, THE TWO COUNTRIES MUST MAINTAIN A DIALOGUE. IN ORDER FOR THE UNITED STATES TO BARGAIN FROM STRENGTH, THIS COUNTRY MUST MAINTAIN ENOUGH MILITARY POWER TO BE ASSURED OF DISCOURAGING SOVIET AGGRESSION. AT THE SAME TIME, GIVEN THE SIZE AND DESTRUCTIVENESS OF THE NUCLEAR ARSENALS, WE SHOULD PROCEED WITH ARMS CONTROL EFFORTS, ALBEIT IN WARY AND HARD-HEADED FASHION.

11. THE DISCUSSION AND THE POLL OF PITTSBURGHERS REVEALED WIDESPREAD INCOMPREHENSION OF WHAT DETENTE MEANS AS A POLICY EVEN THOUGH 46 PERCENT OF THE POLLED RESPONDENTS BELIEVED DETENTE BENEFITTED THE SOVIET UNION MORE THAN THE UNITED STATES, MORE THAN ONE-THIRD GAVE ANSWERS INDICATING THE CONCEPT WAS UNCLEAR TO THEM. THE DISCUSSION ON FEBRUARY 18 REVEALED A GENERAL FEELING THAT, WHATEVER DETENTE WAS, THE BALANCE OF BENEFITS IT HAD PRODUCED FAVORED THE SOVIET UNION.

12. CONSEQUENTLY, MANY SEE US AS ACTING IN SEEMINGLY CONTRADICTORY WAYS, BOLSTERING THE SOVIET ECONOMY BY SELLING WHEAT AND TECHNOLOGY EVEN AS WE PROTEST AND OPPOSE THE SOVIET ROLE IN ANGOLA. SINCE WE APPEAR TO PITTSBURGHERS TO BE ACTING AT CROSS-PURPOSES, THERE IS BEWILDERMENT AS TO WHAT THE COUNTRY STANDS FOR.
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 229191 TOSEC 270196

13. THE CONFUSION IS COMPOUNDED BY INTENSE DISTRUST OF SOVIET INTENTIONS (ALMOST TWO-THIRDS OF RESPONDENTS TO A LOCAL TELEPHONE SURVEY AGREED THAT "WE CANNOT TRUST THE RUSSIANS"). THIS LEADS TO CONCERNS THAT THE SOVIET UNION MAY SOMEHOW SURPASS US IN MILITARY STRENGTH, THAT IT MAY NOT COMPLY WITH AGREEMENTS, AND THAT IT MAY BE GETTING THE BETTER OF VARIOUS BARGAINS. THE 1972 GRAIN SALES WAS AN EXAMPLE COMMONLY CITED.

14. NEVERTHELESS, TRADE WITH THE SOVIET UNION HAD QUITE STRONG APPROVAL. ONLY A MINORITY ADVOCATED USING OUR WHEAT AND TECHNOLOGY AS BARGAINING COUNTERS TO INDUCE THE SOVIET UNION TO MAKE CONCESSIONS REGARDING ITS INTERNAL POLICIES.

15. THE PITTSBURGH GENERAL PUBLIC BASICALLY FAVORED DOING BUSINESS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, AS INDICATED BY THE FOLLOWING POLL RESPONSES: ALMOST 60 PERCENT FAVORED TRADING WITH THE SOVIET UNION; 45 PERCENT FAVORED TRADING WITHOUT ATTEMPT TO LINK TRADE TO POLITICAL CONCESSIONS. ONLY 16 PERCENT WANTED POLITICAL STRINGS ATTACHED. ABOUT ONE-THIRD HAD NO VIEW ON THE MATTER, ANOTHER SIGN THAT DOMINANT VIEWS ARE NOT NECESSARILY MAJORITY VIEWS. IN THE DISCUSSION AND

AMONG POLL RESPONDENTS THE BETTER EDUCATED AND THE ECONOMICALLY MORE SOPHISTICATED WERE THE MORE WILLING TO EXTEND TRADE CREDITS.

16. THAT THE PUBLIC CLEARLY WANTS US TO KEEP OUR POWDER DRY IS INDICATED BY THE FACT THAT 50 PERCENT OF THOSE POLLED PREFERRED THE MILITARY POWER OF THE UNITED STATES TO BE "WELL AHEAD" OF THE SOVIET UNION WHILE 41 PERCENT WERE CONTENT TO BE ON THE SAME LEVEL. AT THE SAME TIME, THERE IS A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING THAT NUCLEAR WEAPONS OBLIGATE US TO TALK TO MOSCOW AND SEEK TO NEGOTIATE A MORE PEACEFUL WORLD.

II. THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

I. THE DISCUSSION PARTICIPANTS ON FEBRUARY 18 GENERALLY AGREED THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE ECONOMIC GROWTH OF THE UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES. MORE GENERALLY, THERE WAS A STRONG DESIRE TO PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN WORLD BETTERMENT AND A LONGING FOR A NATIONAL PURPOSE.
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 229191 TOSEC 270196

POSE BEYOND SELF-DEFENSE. THE PARTICIPANTS SEEMED TO AGREE WE SHOULD NOT EXPECT TO CONTROL THE COURSE OF THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND SHOULD NOT SEEK SPECIFIC POLITICAL CONCESSIONS IN EXCHANGE FOR AID.

18. POLL RESPONSES INDICATED BROAD ACCEPTANCE OF THE NEED TO ALLEVIATE HUNGER AMONG THE POOR NATIONS AND OF THE NEED TO HELP RAISE THEIR STANDARD OF LIVING. ALMOST TWO-THIRDS OF THE RESPONDENTS DISAGREED WITH THE STATEMENT THAT WE SHOULD "NOT CONCERN OURSELVES WITH PROBLEMS IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD." INTERESTINGLY, 55 PERCENT WOULD NOT RESTRICT AID "ONLY TO COUNTRIES WITH DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS."

19. YET THERE WAS ALSO A WIDELY PREVALENT SENSE THAT OUR GOODWILL HAS BEEN TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF IN THE PAST. WHILE BOTH THE DISCUSSION AND THE POLL REVEALED A STRONG HUMANITARIAN BENT, THEY ALSO REVEALED POPULAR SKEPTICISM AS TO WHETHER AID PROGRAMS WERE EFFICIENT IN REACHING THEIR INTENDED BENEFICIARIES. SUSPICIONS WERE EXPRESSED AS TO THE EFFECTIVENESS OF BOTH THIS GOVERNMENT AND RECIPIENT GOVERNMENTS IN ADMINISTERING AID PROGRAMS. A FREQUENTLY EXPRESSED SENTIMENT WAS THAT PROGRAMS OF SELF-HELP BE A PREREQUISITE FOR RECEIVING AID.

20. WARY ALTRUISM WAS COUPLED WITH A STRONG AND FREQUENTLY EXPRESSED SENTIMENT THAT CHARITY SHOULD BEGIN AT HOME, AND THAT MORE ATTENTION SHOULD BE PAID TO DEALING WITH DOMESTIC UNDERDEVELOPMENT. OUR FOREIGN POLICY OVER THE YEARS WAS SEEN AS NOT BEING SUFFICIENTLY CONCERNED WITH PROTECTING THE ECONOMIC INTERESTS OF MOST AMERICANS. THERE WAS STRONG CONCERN THAT A GROWTH OF IMPORTS FROM THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WOULD HURT AMERICAN PRODUCERS AND CAUSE JOB LOSSES.

THIS DOMESTIC COST OF ENCOURAGING A HEALTHIER WORLD ECONOMY SHOULD NOT BE BORNE ONLY BY THOSE IMMEDIATELY AFFECTED, BUT SHOULD BE SHARED BY AMERICANS AS A WHOLE.

21. IN SUM, WE FOUND DISTRUST OF THIS GOVERNMENT'S EFFECTIVENESS IN CARRYING OUT POLICIES INTENDED TO EXPRESS THE PUBLIC'S HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS. WE ALSO FOUND GENERAL ACCEPTANCE OF THE LEGITIMACY OF THE DEMAND BY UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES FOR ENHANCED STANDING IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY. BUT UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06 STATE 229191 TOSEC 270196

THERE REMAINED A GAP BETWEEN ACKNOWLEDGING THE NEED FOR SACRIFICES BY THIS COUNTRY AND THE ABILITY TO ARTICULATE HOW THE BURDEN OF SACRIFICE SHOULD BE DISTRIBUTED. WE PERCEIVED A SERIOUS CONCERN WITH TRADE-OFFS BETWEEN ACCOMMODATING THE NEEDS OF THE UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES, PROTECTING THE ECONOMIC INTERESTS OF THIS COUNTRY, AND PROTECTING THE PERSONAL WELFARE OF THOSE AMERICANS ECONOMICALLY INJURED BY THE CONSEQUENCES OF THIRD-WORLD DEVELOPMENT.

III. THE ROLE OF VALUES IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

22. THE DIFFICULTY THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE FEBRUARY 18 DISCUSSIONS ENCOUNTERED IN DEALING WITH QUESTIONS OF VALUE IN FOREIGN POLICY IS INDICATED BY THE FACT THEY CONSIDERED ONLY TWO OF EIGHT AGENDA QUESTIONS IN THE TWO-HOUR DISCUSSION

23. ONE OF THE TWO QUESTIONS DISCUSSED WAS WHETHER FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICY COULD BE GOVERNED BY SIMILAR PRIORITIES. BY AND LARGE, WE THOUGHT PITTSBURGHERS WERE OF THE VIEW THAT FOREIGN POLICY CANNOT BE GOVERNED BY THE SAME VALUES AS DOMESTIC POLICY. THE WELLBEING OF OUR OWN SOCIETY HAD TO BE THE POLICYMAKER'S FIRST PRIORITY. AT THE SAME TIME, THE PARTICIPANTS GENERALLY FAVORED APPLYING CERTAIN DOMESTIC VALUES (SUCH AS OPEN DISCUSSION OF PUBLIC CONCERNS) TO THE FORMULATION OF FOREIGN POLICY. -

24. THE PARTICIPANTS RECOGNIZED THAT AMERICAN VALUES CANNOT SIMPLY BE EXPORTED TO OTHER COUNTRIES. THEY OPPOSED ATTEMPTS TO IMPOSE OUR VALUES ON OTHER SOCIETIES, AND GENERALLY THOUGHT WE SHOULD TRY TO EXERT INFLUENCE PRINCIPALLY BY EXAMPLE.

25. THE DIFFICULTY OF APPLYING ABSTRACT VALUE PREFERENCES TO CONCRETE POLICY ALTERNATIVES WAS BROUGHT HOME SPECIFICALLY IN CONSIDERING THE SECOND QUESTION: WHETHER THE UNITED STATES SHOULD SELL ARMS TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES. THE PARTICIPANTS EXPRESSED UNHAPPINESS WITH OUR WIDESPREAD ARMS SALES. NEVERTHELESS, DISAPPROVAL OF ARMS SALES IN GENERAL WAS OFTEN COUPLED WITH SUGGESTIONS THAT ARMS CONTINUE TO BE SOLD TO SPECIFIC COUNTRIES.

26. IN THE POLL OF PITTSBURGH RESIDENTS, A MAJORITY FAVORED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 07 STATE 229191 TOSEC 270196

AN ACTIVE RATHER THAN ISOLATIONIST ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS. THEY WANTED THE UNITED STATES TO BE SIGNIFICANTLY INVOLVED IN EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN WORLD PEACE.

27. MOST WERE ALSO CONCERNED WITH PREPAREDNESS FOR UNEXPECTED MILITARY EVENTUALITIES AND THEREFORE FAVORED THE MAINTENANCE OF WIDESPREAD INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES. THERE WAS A PERVASIVE SENTIMENT THAT OTHERS CARRY ON SUCH ACTIVITIES AND THEREFORE WE HAVE TO AS WELL. BOTH DISCUSSANTS ON FEBRUARY 18 AND POLL RESPONDENTS GAVE HIGH PRIORITY TO PROTECTING AND STRENGTHENING THE AMERICAN ECONOMY.

IV. U.S. FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES

28. A GOOD DEAL OF BEWILDERMENT WAS EXPRESSED AS TO THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT, LET ALONE THE OBJECTIVES OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY.

29. ALTHOUGH THE NOMINAL SUBJECT OF THE DISCUSSION WAS FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES, MUCH OF IT SERVED TO EVOKE UNDERLYING ATTITUDES. PRINCIPALLY, THERE EMERGED EXPRESSIONS OF WEARINESS, SELF-BLAME AND SELF-CRITICISM: ALL OF WHICH CONTRASTED WITH A STRONG DESIRE TO FEEL CONFIDENT OF THE RIGHTNESS AND RECTITUDE OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES. AS THE RAPPORTEUR FOR THIS SESSION NOTED, "AMERICANS WANT TO STAND FOR THE RIGHT THING -- EVEN WHEN THEY'RE NOT SURE WHAT THE RIGHT THING IS." WE WERE STRUCK BY HOW LITTLE CONSENSUS THERE SEEMED TO BE IN PITTSBURGH ON "WHAT THE RIGHT THING IS."

30. INDICATIONS OF THIS STRAIN OF IDEALISM EMERGED IN VARIOUS POLL RESPONSES. APPROXIMATELY 70 PERCENT OF THE RESPONDENTS CONSIDERED "STOPPING WORLD HUNGER" A "VERY IMPORTANT" OBJECTIVE OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY. ASKED "WOULD YOU RATHER SEE MORE OF OUR FOREIGN AID GO TO COUNTRIES THAT PROBABLY WILL BE ABLE TO MAKE IT ON THEIR OWN EVENTUALLY OR TO COUNTRIES WHOSE PEOPLE NEED HELP THE MOST?" 59 PERCENT OF THE PITTSBURGH GENERAL PUBLIC OPTED FOR HELPING THE NEEDIEST.

31. ASKED TO IMAGINE THEMSELVES IN THE ROLE OF SECRETARY
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 08 STATE 229191 TOSEC 270196

OF STATE AND SET THEIR OWN FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES, THE PRINCIPAL PRIORITIES WHICH EMERGED WERE TO HELP NEEDY COUNTRIES, SEEK PEACE, AND ENHANCE THIS COUNTRY'S STANDARD OF LIVING.

32. THE IMPORTANCE ATTACHED TO DOMESTIC CONSIDERATIONS WAS ILLUSTRATED BY THE WIDESPREAD RESPONSE THAT OUR FOREIGN POLICY IS NOT SUFFICIENTLY CONCERNED WITH AMERICANS' POCKET-BOOK PROBLEMS. THOSE WITH MORE INCOME AND HIGHER EDUCATION WERE A GOOD DEAL LESS CRITICAL ON THIS POINT. BUT IT WAS APPARENTLY A SORE POINT WITH THE "AVERAGE" POLLED PITTSBURGHER.

33. LARRY EAGLEBURGER SUMMED UP THE "TOWN MEETING" BY DECLARING THAT THE DEPARTMENT HAS A 'SUBSTANTIAL COMMUNICATIONS PROBLEM.' HE NOTED THAT THE QUESTION HANGING OVER THE DISCUSSION WAS "HOW SHOULD OUR FOREIGN POLICY BE CONDUCTED? ON THE ONE HAND, THERE WERE THOSE WHO APPEARED TO VIEW FOREIGN POLICY AS PRINCIPALLY AN ADVERSARY RELATIONSHIP. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE WERE THOSE WHO FAVORED TAKING INITIATIVES IN THE HOPE THAT OUR GOODWILL AND RIGHT MOVES WOULD EVENTUALLY BE RECIPROCATED.

SUMMARY

34. THE FOUR OF US CONSIDER THIS EXPERIMENTAL "TOWN MEETING" QUITE USEFUL. AS YOU YOURSELF HAVE FOUND, IT IS ONE THING TO READ POLL RESULTS IN WASHINGTON; IT IS QUITE ANOTHER TO HEAR THE PUBLIC'S VIEWS AND CONCERNS AT FIRSTHAND. WE RECOMMEND THAT THESE PROGRAMS BE CONTINUED AND THAT OTHER SENIOR OFFICERS OF THE DEPARTMENT BE ENCOURAGED TO PARTICIPATE. WE CONVEYED THESE VIEWS ORALLY IN THE DEPUTY SECRETARY'S STAFF MEETING WHILE YOU WERE IN LATIN AMERICA. END TEXT.
ROBINSON

UNCLASSIFIED

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 16 SEP 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TOSEC, BRIEFING MATERIALS, MEETINGS, PUBLIC ATTITUDES, PITTSBURGH
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 16 SEP 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE229191
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: PA:WDBLAIR,JR:GM
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D760348-1156
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t197609108/baaaeqbu.tel
Line Count: 356
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN PA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: vandyklc
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 05 FEB 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <05 FEB 2004 by MaustMC>; APPROVED <30 AUG 2004 by vandyklc>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: VERBATIM TEXT: PRINCIPAL FINDINGS FROM
TAGS: SOPN, PINT, US, (KISSINGER, HENRY A)
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006